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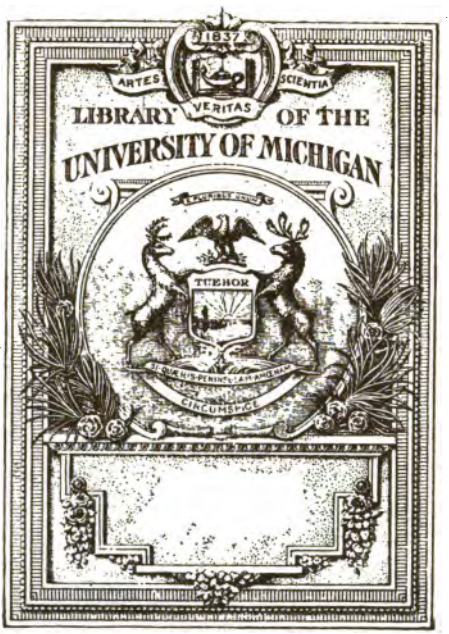
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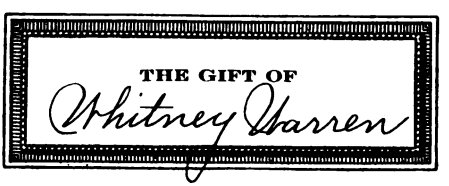
THE GIFT OF
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KING NICOLAS

"If it had not been for the fidelity of Montenegro, her Parliament, her King, her government and her army, at the close of 1915, the Serbian army would have been obliged to surrender."—From THE BALKAN; a leading paper of Belgrade, Serbia; after the King's death in 1921.

MONTENEGRO

THE CRIME OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

By WHITNEY WARREN

Author of: The Testimony of an American Citizen; The Question of Alsace and Lorraine; The Just Claims of Italy; Fiume and D'Annunzio

NEW YORK
BRENTANO'S
1922

D 1-18-23 V.W.

Prelude

HISTORY is the supreme dramatist. And while she flings across a world-wide stage her multitudes of blind actors without a cue, she may be working somewhere, obscurely, upon a simple theme for the apparent chaos, even as the playwright clears the action for a greater scene by studying the puppets on a tabletop.

The Balkan mountains were the tabletop of History. There began, in 1914, *a mighty play. The plots and personages are truly Shakespearean, disclosing in strange combination the elements of Lear, Othello and Macbeth.*

Montenegro is Cordelia, the disinherited daughter. But in place of the hateful two, she has to face a careless, cold or spiteful sisterhood of nations—her own allies, a little more than kin and less than kind.

. . .

Rec'd. 1-11-23

THE curtain rises! Moving through deep shadows, a woman washing her hands. Is it one of the sisters? No, Lady Macbeth! and Lady Macbeth is Serbia! She walks by the shores of the Adriatic and seeks to cleanse the stain of blood from her guilty fingers. But they will not come clean, though she lave them in the seven seas.

The measure of evil is not yet full. Send for Iago, the devil that loves a lie for its own sake. Let him distil the drops of jealousy, fear, distrust and hatred. And as the cup that should be a loving cup goes round the board, watch the poison work its malign effects. The face of Pity hardens to a sneer. Justice turns aside to listen to the whispers of Policy.

. . .

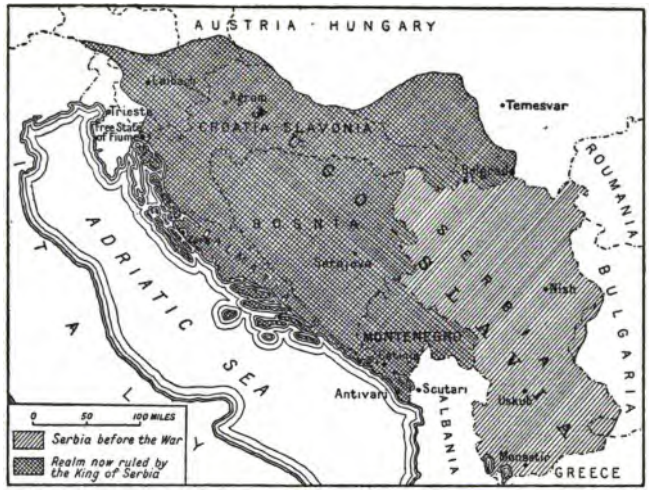
BUT this is no mimic scene from which the spectators may go home to quiet sleep and forgetfulness. We are the actors as well as the audience. We are the accomplices of the crimes committed in our presence. It is against the peace of all men that the murderer lifts his hand. No victim dies alone. Macbeth hath murdered sleep.

If we let Serbia and her accomplices finally kill the stricken sovereignty of Montenegro we

strengthen every hand that strikes at the security of the world. If we let the Balkan lie pass for truth, we are undermining the foundations of our own freedom.

It cannot be. It must not be. The end is not yet. There is still breath in a dying nation and we can save her.

Montenegro must be restored!



*"As to the former Kingdom of Serbia, it would be perhaps more nearly proper to speak of its expansion to include Jugoslavia than of its 'absorption' by the new State * * * the new boundaries make Jugoslavia a State three times the size of pre-war Serbia."*—NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE.

MONTENEGRO

I.

The Two Dynasties

THESE pages are written with a single purpose—to get a hearing for Montenegro, to defeat the ends of her enemies which are best served by silence and forgetfulness. America is bound to take a hand in securing justice. Only so can she clear herself of complicity in the great wrong that has been done and is continually being done to her ally in the world war. For another member of the same alliance is the source of that wrong and has used America to aid in carrying out her selfish and criminal design.

Love of justice is the noblest incentive, but even self-interest demands action. If such tyranny and trickery as have wiped Montenegro off the map are allowed to go unchecked, a Greater War is inevitable. America will again find herself in-

volved, and the taxes of today are as nothing compared to the burden every citizen will then have to bear.

Through its extension over Jugoslavia, the ambitious intrigue of the Serb Court has multiplied the difficulties of keeping peace in the Balkans, and thus in the entire world.

America's only hope of escape lies in facing the truth and acting now. The Great War began in the Balkans. A restored Montenegro may become a stumbling block in the path of trouble-makers who would wreck a world to save themselves.

There is no purpose here to say a word against the Serbian people. On the contrary, to show how their rulers and diplomats misrepresent them is to set them right before the world. The spirit of the true Serbia is expressed in Professor Pupin's delightful recollections of his boyhood, in *Scribner's Magazine*. Nicolas the poet-prince of Montenegro was the native embodiment of the best old Balkan traditions, dishonored by the Belgrade bureaucrats.

Like the Manchus in old China, the Karageorgevitches are an alien dynasty. The founder of the line was a Gypsy, "Black (Kara) George."

The present King is Alexander, son of Peter Karageorgevitch and his queen, Zorka, the

daughter of Nicolas of Montenegro, who was therefore Alexander's grandfather. In a period now conveniently forgot, Peter sought refuge in the Black Mountain. King Nicolas gave him shelter and aid and crowned all other benefits with the hand of his daughter. The very blood in Alexander's veins cries out against Serbian injustice to Montenegro.

King Nicolas is dead. The enemies of Montenegro used to fabricate excuses for their conduct toward his realm out of stories of his alleged errors. They never brought any of these accusations out into the open where they could be met fairly. In any case they can no longer strike Montenegro over his head. What they do now is done against a once free people—the Serbians' "blood brothers" with equal right to freedom. But even the king's death does not relieve us of responsibility for considering his case. For we must go back to Serbian jealousy of the Montenegrin dynasty to find a clue to the whole plot.

George H. Moses, who has served in the United States Senate and in Greece and Montenegro as American Minister, had every opportunity to know King Nicolas, man and monarch. He calls him "the last of the patriarchs—the one monarch of Europe who, to my mind, really fitted his tradition. For more than half a century he

maintained the ascendancy of the Petrovitch dynasty, had twice doubled the area and population of his realm as the result of his personal leadership in war, granted to his people a constitution, a ministry and a parliament—and yet remained himself the final source of authority as in those days, not so far in the past, when he sat in his chair beneath the plane tree in front of the palace, at Cettinje and personally heard and decided the grievances of his peasants one against another."

To such comparative security the vicissitudes of Serbia's government offered a contrast unpleasing to her court. After the assassination of Alexander, last of the Obrenovitch line, and Queen Draga, the other governments of Europe treated Serbia with marked coolness. It was unendurable to her that King Nicolas should be enjoying the favor of the foreign powers as well as of his own people. It is always easy to start rumors about any public man. And the plotters began to undermine the king's reputation.

It is not worth while to follow this muddy trail of innuendo, except as it touches the war. But it dates far back of the war and the motive is too plain to miss—jealousy of Nicolas' good record and high standing among Balkan rulers.

If a Jugoslav confederacy had been formed in the early years of the twentieth century, he would have been the logical head of it. And the knowledge of that fact drove Serbian conspirators wild. The fact that Nicolas was the benefactor of their own king and the father of their queen only increased their exasperation. Another daughter of Nicolas was Queen of Italy and still another, Militza, married Peter Nicolaevitch, Grand Duke of Russia—a positive offense in the selfish view of Serbian diplomats.

The house of Karageorgevitch could never have gone as far as it has without the service of men who have made an art of intrigue. One is forced to admire their skill even while detesting its misuse. In Premier Pachitch and in His Excellency M. Vesnitch, the Serbian minister to France during the war, the dynasty had an incomparable pair of political chess-players. Vesnitch, in Paris, won every move in the international game. He balanced all the forces, playing one against another, as Count Bernstorff did in Washington through the precarious years before America entered the war. But, unlike Bernstorff, Vesnitch had the good luck to be favored by circumstance.

England and France cared nothing for the Serbian dynasty. But they both saw their ad-

vantage in permitting the expansion of a power that should take the place of Austria-Hungary in the Adriatic, hoping thus to counterbalance any superiority Italy might possibly have in those waters. The attitude of England and France was perfectly natural, perfectly human. There was nothing in their behavior that cannot be explained without imputing to them any malice toward Montenegro. And even in these countries there have been strong protests on her behalf. For among all civilized peoples there is a latent sense of right which needs only to be wakened to secure justice to the nation that has suffered the deepest wrong known to modern history.

II.

In the World War

MONTENEGRO is a small state on the map. So is Belgium, which has been exalted to heaven and her recovery hastened in every way—as it should be; while a perfidious power has been permitted to drive an indomitable race

of free men up into the clefts of the Black Mountains. The very rocks are kinder to the Montenegrins than their Serbian neighbors, men of their own blood.

Without making a single condition, Montenegro entered the war on the side of the Allies and particularly in aid of Serbia. At the first hint of trouble, Premier Pachitch telegraphed to the Montenegrin Government to find where it stood. In three hours a reply came to Belgrade, containing these words:

"In any event, Montenegro will share, today as always, good and ill with Serbia. Your fate shall be ours!" The date of that dispatch was July 24, 1914. On the same day, Serbia wired the definite question:

"Can Serbia count upon the fraternal and unlimited assistance of Montenegro in case of conflict with Austria Hungary?" On the following day, this reply was returned to Belgrade:

"Serbia may count on the *unlimited* fraternal help of Montenegro in this critical moment for those of Serbian blood as well as at any other time."

Note that this positive declaration was made before Russia or the other great nations had become Serbia's allies.

And when the Crown Prince Alexander thanked his grandfather for this generous offer, the old King followed up the first message with this ringing statement of fact:

"My Montenegrins are already at the border, ready to die for the defense of the Sacred Common Cause." All of his mountaineers from 18 to 61 years of age were mobilized at once.

Are these the words or the acts of a King who could ever betray his friends as Nicolas was accused of doing by those whose interest lay in the success of another dynasty?

Montenegro entered the world war without a shadow of compulsion. She had neither treaty nor convention with any power that could entangle her against her will. Except for geographical position, she was as free as the United States.

But her people as well as her government were incapable of remaining inactive.

Montenegro could have urged certain ancient claims to surrounding territory as the price of her support. She asked nothing, she waited for nothing.

"Fight first, bargain afterward," was her characteristic gesture. Austria knew the valor of this foe and offered a bribe of territory, which was refused.

The army was poorly equipped. And unlike

the armies of other nations it had no rich resources to draw upon. In recent years it had suffered heavy losses, including that of 10,000 men at Scutari.

Yet Austria, judging by man quality more than numbers or supplies, sent as large a force as against the Serbs. The Allies were too much occupied elsewhere to give help, as they had promised.

The simple unquestioned facts relating to King Nicolas draw the teeth of the charges brought against him. It was said that he gave up the fight too soon. The fact is that his army was wholly under Serbian military authorities. It had actually done superb service in covering the retreat of the many times larger Serbian force. Where the main body could not stand against the enemy, how could the little Montenegrin detachment be asked to do so?

On December 29th, 1915, Premier Pachitch and Col. Pechitch, both of Serbia, went to the King and urged that he make a truce with Austria. He protested but finally said, in substance:

"One of you is responsible for the politics, the other for the army; if you ask for an armistice it will be solely and entirely upon your own personal responsibility."

On January 13, 1916, Col. Pierre Pechitch, Serbian commander of the Montenegrin troops wrote to King Nicolas:

"All the heads of the army on the west front declare that such demoralization is manifest in our army that resistance to the enemy is absolutely impossible.

"The Cattaro division is completely scattered and practically non-existent.

"The commanders of the Cattaro and Lovtchen divisions have not a single cannon. The army is starving; it has few munitions, there being no hope of changing that state of affairs.

"Showing you in its reality the state of the army, I have the honor of calling to the attention of your Majesty the absolute impossibility under such conditions of going on with the struggle."

Col. Pechitch thereupon urges the King to make peace and to withdraw for the present from Montenegro.

Nobody ever accused Clemenceau of having any special prejudice in the case or of being retained to plead for Nicolas. But this is what he printed in *L'Homme Enchainé*, January 1916:

"Italy is taking no pains to defend Mount Lovtchen, which is necessary to the existence of our friend Montenegro and which would be, in the hands of the Austrians, a powerful menace

to the freedom of the Adriatic in the feeding of the Serbian army now in the worst extremity of misfortune."

And then the old tiger adds, with the irony for which he is famous:

"Mount Lovtchen, abundantly provided with prehistoric artillery, calmly waits for some one to come and take it."

Yet Nicolas was accused of giving up Mount Lovtchen secretly to the Austrians. The cowardly enemies of the King never had a case which they dared present in the open court of public opinion. And the Mount Lovtchen lie is one of the most foolish of all, since there is not a fact on record that would help to render it plausible. Before the historic height was surrendered, the King had turned over to the Serbians all active control of his army.

Having fought to the last cartridge, the devoted army saw disaster at hand. The entire government had moved to France, except the minister of war. He withdrew into the mountains to organize a guerilla campaign.

So effectively was this carried out that the Austrian military governor resorted to an extreme measure, which Asquith characterized as the worst single crime of the war.

A notice was posted throughout Montenegro

to this effect: The minister of war must appear to treat for peace in three days. Upon his failure to do so, his father, over 80 years of age, and his brother, were to be hung.

As soon as they heard the condition, both father and brother sent word to the minister, "Do not return. It is better for us to die than for Montenegro to yield." Between the call of affection and the plain course of his duty, Gen. Vessovitch made the choice his family and the nation counted on him to make. He stayed at his post.

The proposed murder of an innocent old man was too shocking to be carried through. Francis Joseph, another old man whose tragic career was soon to end, "pardoned" the father. The brother however, was killed according to the program. Nobody has ever been punished for this medieval method of striking an enemy that could not be overcome in battle.

III.

The Campaign of Slander

WHILE Montenegro was fighting Serbia's battles, the plotters against the little state were held in check by self-interest. But from the moment of the Austrian occupation the campaign of detraction went on, more effectively than ever. Forgotten lies were retold, new ones invented. The old fake secret treaty purporting to have been made between Austria and Montenegro long before the war was circulated where it would make the most trouble.

This "treaty" was dated 1907 and signed with the name of a minister who had then been out of office for months. First published in 1912, and at once positively branded as false by the Montenegrin government, it was reprinted during the war at Nich, in the *Tribuna*, a paper controlled by Premier Pachitch of Serbia. But the burden of proof is on the accuser and Serbia has never presented any evidence fit to satisfy a judicial body that such an agreement existed.

If, however, anybody chooses to believe the

tale, he must admit that Austria got no good from the arrangement.

Who did this work of undermining a nation's credit? It would be profitless to print any extended list of Serbia's agents. Tools are easy to buy when there is money. Perhaps the Benedict Arnold of this betrayal was Radovitch, a renegade member of King Nicolas' former court, and author of anti-Montenegrin pamphlets.

The career of this man ought to be written. It would furnish plots for half a dozen novels and feature films. He is the Busy Bee of the Balkans. Before the war he had represented Montenegro at various European courts, served as Chief Engineer and Chief of Ordnance, Prefect of Police, Counsellor of State and finally President of the Council. So intimate and apparently affectionate were his relations with royalty that he used to call himself "The King's fourth son."

At one period or another, this Radovitch was on all sides of the Montenegrin question. His conscience and his tongue were equally flexible. At one moment he would profess to know the King's most secret thoughts. Later he would accuse him of some evil deed.

"But you were his friend at that very time," some one would object. Whereupon he would

forget his boast of intimacy and profess complete ignorance of the King's wicked ways.

Even after he had begun to work against the King, Radovitch pretended to offer his old chief the first place in a Jugoslav confederacy he was trying to patch up. Here is a part of his letter to Nicolas, written in August, 1916:

"Besides the Council composed of delegates from the different states, there must be a permanent President of the Confederation. If your Majesty took part in the realization of the Jugoslav state, in accordance with the principle just explained, the popularity thus to be won because of your past and your family ties, affords reason to believe that this position, first in the eyes of all in the Balkans would be offered you by the Powers."

The very fact that Radovitch could propose King Nicolas for such participation in the government of the Balkan States, nullifies his whole campaign of slander. He and all his tribe cared nothing for Serbia or Montenegro. Radovitch publicly admitted the receipt of large sums of money from "Serbian patriots of independent means." Yet he posed as a representative of Montenegrins—who unfortunately had no money with which to secure the circulation of the truth.

The vicious feature of all this is that so many people believed the propaganda put out by Radovitch and Company. And Americans ought to know that part of the very money which the United States Treasury Department advanced to Serbia in 1917-18 was used to deceive them as to the Montenegrin situation.

IV.

The King's Plea

THIS is neither a story of the whole war, nor even a full account of Montenegro's part in it. The facts related are chosen in order to make the present situation clear.

The instant the Austrians left, that is, after their defeat in the battle of Vittorio-Veneto, in October, 1918, affairs developed with a swiftness that must rouse the suspicions of any impartial reader of history. It was not the Montenegrin government that returned home, as did the governments of Belgium and Serbia. Instead, an "Allied" army of occupation marched in and took charge. The majority of the troops were Serbians, with a French general in command.

King Nicolas had written to the French gov-

ernment, whose guest he was, asking leave to return to his own land. M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied that conditions there were too uncertain. But he added:

"Your Majesty may be assured that the troops placed under the command of General Franchet d' Esperey will neglect nothing to assure in your kingdom the maintenance of order, and that they will put into practice the respect of the constitutional authorities as well as of the liberties of the people of Montenegro."

In conversation, the French Minister accredited to Montenegro, had assured Nicolas that all orders should be given *in his name as King of Montenegro.*

On the 26th of November, two weeks after the Armistice, the annexation of Montenegro to Serbia was proclaimed by the representatives of Serbia. The other Allies were informed that the people of the nation summarily disposed of desired such extinction! How could their desires be ascertained in that time? Their history cries "Impossible!" to that amazing irony.

The Powers never recognized that notification. On January 13, the Supreme Council unanimously decided that Montenegro should be reinstated "when the political situation cleared."

Note that the plotters in Belgrade and Paris were unable to achieve direct results, because the facts were against them. Their hope was in delay and this M. Vesnitch gained, ably seconded as he was by the charming American wives of Serbian leaders, in Washington and in Paris. These clever ladies fairly outclassed the male diplomats in the subtle effectiveness of their social program. They pervaded the French and American capitals with their graceful activities. No occasion was too small to be utilized in creating political advantages for Serbia.

Everything else was overshadowed by their final stroke, which proved completely successful. They won the coveted approach to a dominant representative of America through friendship with his wife. As this became more intimate, America's interest in Montenegro cooled.

Moreover, the Jugoslav proclivities of Wickham Steed of the London *Times*, through that paper's tremendous prestige, undoubtedly inclined official England against interference in Montenegro's behalf.

In all this however, Montenegro was treated *as a conquered nation* instead of an ally that had entered the war at once and made every sacrifice for the common cause. Astonishing as it may

seem, she was never allowed a representative in the Peace Conference.

It is hopeless to seek for the slightest thread of consistency in the treatment accorded Montenegro by her allies. So late as October 1918 there was still an accredited French Minister to the exiled Montenegrin Court. He wrote then to King Nicolas:

"The French Government has no purpose to interfere in the internal affairs of an Allied State. It is therefore plain that when French military authorities shall enter Montenegro, they cannot assume any attitude other than recognition of the legal authority, which is that of King Nicolas."

Yet in practice, that authority was completely disregarded. A year before the letter just quoted, in August 1917, the French government had refused to approve passports made out by Montenegrin authorities. Yet when the same applicants obtained Serbian passports, they were approved at once. And on some of these the old Montenegrin capital was given as "Cettigné, a department of Serbia!"

On November 24, 1918, Raymond Poincaré, then President of France, now her Premier, sent King Nicolas, his "dear and great Friend," a letter containing these paragraphs:

"France has not forgotten the courage with which Montenegro rose, at the call of Your Majesty, for the defence of its independence. She knows the hardships endured by the people of the Black Mountain and is working to the best of her ability to relieve them.

"Your Majesty may be assured that the Government of the Republic to whose sympathy for the small states he rightly appeals, will lend itself to no attempt which would aim to force the will of the people of Montenegro and to deny their legitimate aspirations.

"The French troops called upon to occupy provisionally the territory of your kingdom, respectful of established institutions, will devote themselves to maintaining order, assisting the population to the best of their ability to prepare for the reestablishment of normal life, which was deeply disturbed by the grievous trials of the enemy's occupation.

"It appears preferable that Your Majesty should delay the return to his kingdom until this purpose has been achieved and life shall have resumed its normal course in Montenegro.

"The presence of the Allied troops, the cooperation which they will lend to the inhabitants, will contribute no doubt to hasten this moment

for which Your Majesty longs. As soon as it has arrived, the Government of the Republic will be happy, Your Majesty, to facilitate your return."

It was not, however, the formal phrases of the President of France that carried the greatest influence. They had the familiar ring of the kind of diplomacy that brought on the war. America was an unknown quantity. Her promise might mean something.

As a last resort, on January 7, 1919, Nicolas wrote personally to President Wilson an appeal for justice, warning the American executive against "the intrigues of the Serbs and their plots to secure in advance" the aid of the United States. Here is a paragraph of that letter:

"Yesterday in one of the chief cities of Montenegro my downfall was proclaimed, following the use of Serbian bombs and the distribution of money among a population dying of hunger. The union of my state with Serbia was decreed, moreover, by misuse of Serbian troops and at a moment when 9,000 Montenegrins, including 2,000 officers, were still detained in Austrian concentration camps and their King held by the Allies in France."

Addressing Nicolas as "King of Montenegro," President Wilson wrote him on January 9 the following letter:

"My Good Friend:

"I have received your letter of January seventh and read it with the deepest interest. I must at present content myself with a brief acknowledgement of it, but I beg that you will believe that the days will not be too crowded or too hurried for me to drive interests of sturdy Montenegro out of my mind or to lessen in the least my sincere desire to do everything in my power to see that justice is done her.

"The matters to which you call my attention will have my most serious and sympathetic consideration.

"Cordially and sincerely yours,

"(Signed) WOODROW WILSON."

When Serbia, under cover of an Allied occupation, began to assert arbitrary authority, after the Armistice, the independent mountaineers had naturally risen in revolt. Montenegro's case had been laid before the Peace Congress, and its Supreme Council advised King Nicolas to urge patience upon his people, in that very request being an acknowledgement of the King's rightful authority.

Now the Montenegrins are a patriarchal people. They have no faith in diplomacy, in *ententes*

cordial or uncordial, in treaties or conventions. Such a thing as a signed contract does not exist there. If one man gives his word to another, the matter is settled.

They might have refused the plea of European statesmen. But America had won their faith. When President Wilson asked them through King Nicolas to lay down their arms, they trusted his messages and his original promise in the Fourteen Points. They relied on the good faith of America to carry out this promise of all the Allies, written by the President of the United States and given to King Nicolas on January 22, 1919:

"A good opportunity will soon be offered to the Montenegrin people to express themselves freely upon the political form of their future government."

Acting on the basis of these words, the King sent the following letter to Montenegro:

"To My Dear People:

"I beg you to remain quietly in your homes and not to offer armed resistance to the troops that are trying to nullify the government of our country. I have received the highest assurances from representatives of the Allied nations that a good opportunity will soon be offered to the Montenegrin people to express themselves freely

upon the political form of their future government.

"And for my part, I will gladly accept that decision.

"NICOLAS."

The King's final letter to President Wilson is worth a careful reading by every American, for it is really addressed through our chief executive to America. The date is April 3, 1919.

"Dear and Great Friend:

"Six months will soon have passed since the collapse of brute force, personified in Prussian militarism, thanks to the bravery of the Allied peoples, but thanks especially to the admirable energy of the United States. The latter from the first day of their intervention, by the enormous moral and material forces they brought with them, became the decisive factor in the realization of the supreme ideal of humanity—the consecration of the right to live, for the small as well as for the great.

"The history of my country and its freedom—an inseparable condition through six centuries—is nothing but an uninterrupted chain of bloody struggles for the realization of this ideal.

"I am proud of my country, for Montenegro,

like your glorious nation, threw itself into the strife without imposing utilitarian conditions, without selfish, hidden calculation, but solely in order to collaborate, insofar as it was able, in the triumph of right and justice over brute force and all that was arbitrary.

"A conscious victim of its generous and spontaneous action, Montenegro had the undoubted right to complete restoration on the same grounds as Belgium and Serbia, a right which was solemnly recognized as due to it by yourself, Mr. President, in the name of the United States, and by all the governments of the other great Allied Powers. Furthermore, the hard combats and suffering which, alone, Montenegro has undergone in the past, the struggles and sacrifices endured in common in these days, ought to have sufficed, perhaps, to procure for it, on the part of the Allies, certain rewards of a moral and political order. Alas! none came; on the contrary, certain Allies did not hesitate even to put its very existence as a sovereign and independent State in question.

"Montenegro is today the victim of the worst of oppressions. The Serbian army of occupation, constituted, organized and equipped by the Allies, acting under the order of a French general, Commander-in-chief of the Armies of the Near East,

has invaded my land, and this at a time when not one enemy soldier remained on Montenegrin soil. Immediately on their arrival, these invaders proclaimed the annexation of Montenegro to Serbia —an Allied State.

"During this time, my Government and myself were not only prevented, during the war, from forming a combatant unit of Montenegrin refugees and emigrants from America, but, further, at the moment of the evacuation of Montenegro by enemy troops, we were forbidden to leave the land of exile under a threat of the immediate breaking off of diplomatic relations on the part of the French Government if we tried to return to Montenegro.

"In this manner official Montenegro has been virtually held in captivity, whereas the Command of the Allied Armies in the Near East favored Serbian invasion and the return to the country of a small number of Montenegrin renegades in the pay of the Serbian Government, so that, taking advantage of the confusion in which the country found itself, the Serbians might proceed more easily with the destruction of our national institutions and the suppression of the independence of Montenegro.

"Mr. President, I believe that the most elemen-

tary justice as well as the solemn undertakings of the Allies and the universal conscience of which you are the noble mouthpiece imperatively demand that Montenegro be restored at the earliest possible moment to the full rights it enjoyed before the war. That is what the majority of the Montenegrin people demand. That is why it has risen in insurrection and why it is still struggling and suffering today.

"Mr. President, as soon as the Montenegrin State shall have been restored and I am back in my country, I shall call a Parliament in conformity with the constitutional dispositions and laws of the Montenegrin State. That constitution, which is in spirit more liberal than the constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia, is a guarantee that our Parliament will be the true interpreter of the wish of the people of Montenegro.

"I solemnly declare to you, Mr. President, that I will accept, without reserve any and every decision of the Parliament thus legally convened, even though such decision be unfavorable to me as a sovereign.

"Moved solely by the interests of the Montenegrin people, whose rights are at present ignored, I take this step of appealing to you, Mr. Presi-

dent, which I pray you to consider as a solemn engagement on my part towards the President of the Republic of the United States. And if among the great Allies there is to be found one who should try to cast a doubt upon the sincerity of my undertaking, I declare that I submit in advance to any decision which you, Mr. President, may think fit to take to ensure the legality and sincerity of the consultation of the Montenegrin people as well as the carrying out of the decisions of Parliament legally convoked.

"I pray your Excellency, dear and great friend, to believe me,

"Your very sincere friend,

"(signed) NICOLAS."

The Montenegrins had fought for the cause which later became ours, and they judged American comrades by themselves. Nothing could have made them betray or leave helpless to the enemy one who had risked life in their cause.

Well, what happened, after all these promises?

Nothing at all.

The Montenegrins laid down their arms and waited. But when they saw the Serbians bringing in reinforcements to make possession more and more secure, they became refugees in the

mountains, their natural fortresses. Their enemies followed and today these two neighbor nations are engaged in the bloodiest of conflicts, with no quarter given.

Meanwhile the official exchange of notes went on in Paris. Writing letters was the only resource left, and the best use was made of it. The letters of the King and his ministers constitute an unanswerable case for Montenegro. No refutation of these facts and arguments has ever been made. The only kind of answer Montenegro has received is the wolf's characteristic exhibition of his teeth, in Æsop's fables. But unhappily, this is no fable.

On August 26, 1919, King Nicolas addressed to Premier Clemenceau, as head of the Peace Congress, a demand for an inquiry into the Montenegrin case.

Recalling the fact that the Supreme Council had not recognized the annexation of Montenegro but on the contrary admitted its claim to separate representation at Versailles, the King adds:

"The question of Montenegro is not a dynastic issue, as its enemies assert. It has to do, on the contrary, with a great principle which ought to be the more profoundly respected because it

safeguards the painfully acquired rights of a weak nation and a small people.

"In what affects me personally, I am always ready to make not only all sacrifices claimed by the right and the welfare of Montenegro, but those dictated by the general interests of the Allies as well. But in my quality as chief of the Montenegrin State, I am obliged by the national constitution to defend her honor and my own, along with her rights and her interest."

He repeats the request already made for a commission to investigate his own conduct and that of his people during the war, as well as the treatment they have endured from others. "Whatever be the results of this enquiry," he concludes with quiet dignity, "I am ready to abide by the consequences."

But it is not chiefly himself that Nicolas is considering. The whole burden of his plea is the release of his troubled people. "I beseech the Peace Conference to put an end to the intolerable situation in which the Montenegrin nation is now living; to re-establish her sovereign rights according to the solemn engagements of the Great Powers, Allied and Associated, thus assuring to her the right of free disposition as an independent constitutional state."

On December 1, 1919, Nicolas wrote President Poincaré, recalling his promise that the Allied force would be respectful of established institutions in Montenegro and would do all they could to hasten the day to which the King looked forward. Nicolas asserted that the troops had acted in exactly the opposite manner, aiding the forcible annexation of Montenegro by Serbia. And since the French General Franchet d' Esperey was in command, France was in a measure responsible for their behavior.

President Poincaré replied that General Franchet d' Esperey was no longer in command, with the implication that acts which had been permitted *when he was in command* had no further interest.

These statements contained in the King's answer to the President of France, dated January 12, 1920, give a clear and concise summing up of the charge not only against Serbia but against the other nations that had permitted Serbia's acts:

"In the judgment of History, the Great Powers will be held accountable without evasion for the injustice practiced up to this hour against the sovereign Allied State of Montenegro. Their responsibility arises from the fact that all the Allied military forces includng the commander

of the Army of the Orient, General Franchet d' Esperey, are under supreme authority of the War Council of the Great Powers. Now one of its lieutenants, the reigning Prince of Serbia, carried out the military occupation of the territory of the Montenegrin State, and while that Allied country was in his power, annexed it. The reigning Prince of Serbia, with the part of the Allied army of which he assumed the subordinate command, on that occasion acted contrary not only to the solemn agreements of the Great Powers, in regard to Montenegro, but also to Your Excellency's letter of November 24, 1918, as well as to that of his Excellency M. Pichon of November 4, 1918.

"In his rank as subordinate, the reigning Prince of Serbia was responsible for this international crime to his superior, General Franchet d' Esperey and the General himself was answerable to the Commander-in-chief of the Allied armies. Marshall Foch, who in his turn should give an account to the Supreme Council where the Government representatives of the Great Powers in alliance with Montenegro are officially met.

"The Great Powers united in the Peace Congress are therefore bound, morally and legally to make reparations for what the subordinate officer,

the reigning Prince of Serbia has done under their authority.

. . .

"My government and I have never asked anything but respect for the will of the Montenegrin people and their legitimate aspirations as well as regard for the constitution and the sovereignty of their State. Certainly the Montenegrin people alone have the right to decide their destiny, after they have been restored on the same basis as Belgium and Serbia, by the Allies, who are under obligation to do this. They should be restored to the full exercise of their organization as a sovereign nation, as on the day of its entry into the war beside their Allies, to strive, to fight and to sacrifice themselves."

A group of the most intelligent members of both houses of Parliament in Great Britain presented a resolution on April 21, 1920, which states the situation clearly, thus:

"In consideration of the heroic services rendered by Montenegro—the smallest of our Allies —and the heavy losses sustained by her people, she should have the individual right to determine her future government, that is to say, it is necessary that her Parliament be elected according to the Montenegrin constitution, to decide

that question. The freedom of the vote will be guaranteed by the departure of all Serbian troops and authorities that now occupy Montenegro. It is only by this means that the promises of the Great Powers can be strictly fulfilled and that the principles for which the Allies fought will receive their sanction by the restoration of the sovereignty of Montenegro."

Among the signers, representing some eight party groups, were Viscount Bryce, Tom Griffiths, F. A. Macquisten, Ronald Mc Neill, Sir Martin Conway, J. L. Blynes, Lord Burnham, Viscount Gladstone, J. H. Thomas. Conservative peers joined radical labor members in this non-partisan plea for simple justice.

V.

The Occupation

WE have left the story of events in Montenegro itself, in order to show the efforts King Nicolas was making in Paris. But the Serbians never waited an instant for the lawful government to move. Law could be attended to later. What they wanted was action.

They had long been preparing to lay the foundation for their new structure by excavating and getting rid of whatever might give any aid or even recognition to the old. Their ends were accomplished in various ways.

After Nicolas went to France, the French and British Governments had allowed a monthly credit of 400,000 francs, for governmental expenses. This was soon reduced to 200,000. But no payment was made from January 1917 to September 1918. Serbia received her allowance regularly. And the Serbians turned over small sums to any Montenegrins who would acknowledge the Serbian sovereign. The policy followed by Serbia was always the same: To secure from the Allies all advantage, authority and money as administrators for Montenegro; and to use all such powers in behalf of those who gave up any claim to Montenegrin citizenship. Since many refused to do this the little nation endured hardships that might have been relieved if she had been justly treated.

All the old governmental machinery of the nation had been taken apart and every effort to assemble it had been checked. The salaries of officials remained unpaid and many of these were suffering great privation, in which of course their

families shared. This very fact was used to carry out the diabolic design.

Every former government employee who would accept the usurping regime received back pay and a generous share in the relief funds. A certain number reluctantly did this to save their children's lives. The point to be remembered, however, is that many held out for independence and still hold out.

There is today a Montenegro that refuses to acknowledge the rule of Serbia.

Here is a brief resumé of the steps taken to give a show of legal form to Serbia's arbitrary acts:

As early as July 1917, Premier Pachitch made a preliminary announcement of the annexation of Montenegro, in the Declaration of Corfu. Serbia's bad faith in the whole process needs only her own documents for proof. After such a declaration any "popular vote" of Montenegrins "to decide the destiny" of their country could be only a hideous farce.

But the farce must be carried through. On October 25, 1918, four persons having no real authority whatsoever signed a call for an "election of delegates to a great national assembly." Two of these were Serbians—Inspector Tomitch of the department of public instruction and Kossovitch, a high school teacher.

The "great national assembly" met in a building surrounded by armed Serbian bravos and "voted" away Montenegro's liberty on November 26, fifteen days after the Armistice, when the other Allied peoples were rejoicing in the prospect of complete restoration. There was no debate over thus disposing of a people's existence. The resolutions passed had been drawn up and printed at Corfu. In half a day the meeting was over, Montenegro's future having been placed in the hands of a directorate of five men. Three of these "patriots" had been implicated in the plot against Nicolas in 1907. Planning the assassination of the King was a fit prelude to the betrayal of his nation.

The same tactics that had carried through the organization of the "great national assembly" were used to prevent any reassertion of national sentiment. In the "elections" of 1920, no candidates opposed to annexation were permitted to stand for office. The Serbian Minister of the Interior expressly forbade the presentation of their names to the public. The only resource open to Montenegrins if they wished to cast their votes against the Serbian government was to vote for the communist candidates, which they did.

The treaty of Rapallo, November 1920, is taken

by many as a final settlement of questions referring to the Adriatic region. It has no clause referring to Montenegro!

In December 1920, the French minister still accredited to the Kingdom of Montenegro finally closed the account, with this statement:

"Elections to the constitutent assembly having taken place recently in Jugoslavia, the people of Montenegro have declared themselves: one cannot longer question their desire to remain united with the other Serbian populations in the Serb-Croat-Slovene realm whose existence we have officially recognized. The government of the Republic assumes, therefore, that the union of Montenegro with the said realm is now an accomplished fact."

The Montenegrin Government replied to the French refusal to recognize its existence by a letter dated January 10, 1921, in which these points were made:

The Pact of London, in 1915, guaranteed the future existence of Montenegro. The same guarantees were affirmed in January, 1917, and in August 1919. The Peace Congress recognized Montenegro's right to be represented by a delegate and promised that "a good opportunity would be offered to the Montenegrin people to express

themselves freely as to the political form of their future government." This promise was never fulfilled. Even at that time the Serbian government was exercising complete sovereignty and when an "election" was held in November 1920, it was completely under control of Serbia. The election was called by authority of the Serbian Regent.

* * *

King Nicolas died in exile at Cape Antibes, Côte d'Azur, March 1, 1921. Little Michael I, now attending school in England, succeeds to the title. The constitutional government, with temporary headquarters in Rome and the thousands of loyal mountaineers who continue resistance to Serbia with considerable success, are the present evidence of Montenegro's individuality.

VI.

America and Her Allies

WE Americans should have a better excuse if we had never acknowledged the truth. When President Wilson stated his "Fourteen Points," one of the few items that excited no opposition, started no debate, was the demand for restoration of Montenegro along with Belgium and the other little states that had entered the war on the same basis.

One of the chief unanswered charges against Mr. Wilson was his failure to carry out the purposes he himself had announced and the best sentiment of America had repeatedly approved. No feature of his program appealed more powerfully to the civilized world's sense of justice than his insistence upon the self determination of small nations.

President Wilson went to Europe with a briefcase bulging with Peace Plans, any or all of which he was willing to trade for support of his League of Nations. When the diplomats had gone through it nothing remained but the League. They left that to the very competent hands of the United States Senate.

To specify only a few items, Mr. Wilson had given up the freedom of the seas for England's support; he had made a separate defensive alliance—never voluntarily submitted to Congress for approval—with France and England to please the former; he had held over distressed Italy a threat of economic pressure. On the other hand he had yielded Shantung to Japan while allowing Serbia to swallow Montenegro and Dalmatia.

President Wilson went to Europe to lead the oppressed peoples out of the desert into the Promised Land, giving them a new version of the Commandments. But the old order was too strong for him. Those diplomatic priests and levites made of him *le bouc émissaire*. They laid upon his head the sins of the people and led him out into the wilderness of words, and he never found his way back.

In October, 1919, writing from Fiume in reference to the conditions created by the Peace Conference, I made the following statement:

"The conference is responsible for the confusion which exists about the Fiume and Dalmatian question. It has made a mistake and should rectify it—it is a mistake, not a crime. *The crime is Montenegro—having wiped it off the face of the map—not of the world, however—and some day that crime must be atoned.*

But if the War President conveniently forgot his own creed, the United States cannot do so. One principle is an inseparable part of our history. We accepted it and asserted it long before Mr. Wilson was thought of as chief Executive. Self-determination was really implied in the Monroe Doctrine, the refusal of the United States to let Europe dictate to any of our weaker sisters in South America or elsewhere on this continent. We asserted the same principle and gave our blood for it in the Cuban war, proving our own sincerity by leaving the island when self-government was assured. And whatever thought of our own interest may have acted as a motive in 1917, indignation over the crime against Belgium was the unquenchable fire that burned up every dry argument against our entering the World War.

One of the first feelings of decent school boys is hatred of a bully who is cruel to weaker lads. The right-minded man never loses that feeling.

Germany bullied Belgium. The manhood of the world fought her to a finish. But when Serbia bullies Montenegro, nobody lifts a hand to stop the outrage.

Why?

Because Serbia has lied successfully and the conscience of the world which hates lying has not yet found her out. Or perhaps it would be more

accurate though less flattering to say that we are too lazy to seek out the truth and force correction of the error.

Serbian activity in the court of public opinion has been very cleverly directed. Much of what her apologists proclaim so loudly is true. But she suppresses just the vital elements whose absence leads to a false conclusion. This is the way she does it:

"The Serbians are a brave and progressive race."

"Montenegrins and Serbians have a common origin."

"Desire for an alliance or some form of confederation has often been expressed in Montenegro."

Montenegro has been for over five centuries an independent State. She has maintained that independence against incredibly superior forces. Whatever they may think about confederation or alliances, the Montenegrin people have never expressed a wish to give up their existence as an individual nation.

First of all Montenegro could not come to any real decision or express any free choice as to her destiny until she herself was free. It ought not to be necessary to recall that axiomatic truth, yet the whole case turns on that and it is never mentioned in any of Serbia's manifestos.

It was Serbia that precipitated the war by refusing to admit Austria's right even to send a delegate to take part in the investigation of the murder of the Austrian Archduke and Archduchess. On the same principle she ought to have aided in restoring Montenegro to independence. When the government was re-established it would have been time to treat on equal terms as to confederation in a Jugoslavic state.

Viscount Gladstone gave it as his judgment that Montenegro "could not be treated worse had she fought on the side of the Central Powers."

Since the war, Serbia's attitude towards Montenegro, unrebuked by her allies, has been that of a conqueror toward a conquered enemy. Yet strangely enough, even certain conquered territories have been permitted to vote freely as to their own disposition.

Under the Treaty of Versailles, Slesvig, the Sarre Valley, East and West Prussia and upper Silesia were permitted to decide their own destiny; Eupen and Malmedy could register protests. And much of the voting thus provided for has been honestly accomplished according to the Official Report.

Montenegro has never been permitted to register a protest where it would do any good.

One of the clearest and most impartial general views of the war's results is given in Ralph Graves' article "The New Map of Europe" printed in *The National Geographic Magazine.* He is holding no brief for or against anybody but analyzing facts and stating present conditions. These are his final paragraphs:

"In addition, the former Kingdom of Montenegro has been absorbed. As to the former Kingdom of Serbia, it would be perhaps more nearly proper to speak of its expansion to include Jugoslavia than of its 'absorption' by the new state. It is the Serbian King Peter I, who occupies the throne of Jugoslavia in the capital city of Belgrade.

"The new boundaries make Jugoslavia, a state three times the size of pre-war Serbia, with a population roughly estimated at 14,500,000 which is more than three times that of Serbia in 1914."

There is nothing new in the program of those ambitious masters of intrigue. It is only in recent years that they have taken the trouble to mask their designs. In 1908 the Minister of Foreign Affairs openly addressed these words to the Serbian Chamber:

"We ought to have a war in Europe. We are hoping that some unforeseen event will unchain

it. Europe must give us the territory we demand or we will engage in a great and bloody contest."

The desired war was precipitated. After the event, in the same spirit the Serbian consul general at Odessa wrote in 1916 that his country alone had won immortal glory, for although a little state, "by hard work, from year to year she succeeded in unchaining the world war." And looking to a still more glorious future, he declared that Serbia ought to prepare, when this conflict was over, for another war, to secure what she has not yet obtained.

A *Herald* editorial of August 14, 1922 couples the attempted extinction of Montenegro as a separate state with the recent recognition by Secretary Hughes of the Albanian Government. The editorial goes on thus:

"It seems a peculiar dispensation of fate that at the time when the Montenegrins are losing statehood, the Albanians their enemies for centuries should acquire it. The Montenegrins have a history rich in traditions of their struggles against the Turks. Those Black Mountaineers remained unconquered when all the remainder of the Balkans had been subjugated by the Sultan's armies. They were for centuries a Western bulwark against the advance of the Moslem. The Montenegrin chieftain's deeds of valor, like those

of all the Serb races, were preserved in folk legend and story and told by their Homeric bards to the music of the *guẓla* at all their public meeting places. It was this constant recital of past heroism which inspired the Montenegrin's loyalty to his race and state."

The editorial recalls the fact that Montenegro was obliged to give up Scutari to Albania after it had been fairly captured in war, the Scripture rule being reversed to read "To him that hath *not* shall be given." But gifts to Albania have not always been to its own advantage—for example, the Powers handed her a foreign ruler, Prince William of Wied!

"The Albanians knew nothing of him and he knew as little of the Albanians. His reign lasted for a few months and he was willing to abandon his throne. Essad Pasha then went to live in the palace which had been fitted up for the Prince and remained there imagining himself king, until the Austrian invasion ousted him. After the war a provisional state was formed and a provisional government took charge of affairs. It kept peace and order through a turbulent period and relinquished what power it had to the present government.

"The state which has been formed is thus the first substantially organized independent rule

which the Albanians have had." What a contrast to Montenegro, with her five hundred years of independence.

VII.

History

TO get the full meaning of the present, we must review rapidly the whole record of that region. There is no more amazing narrative in the book of time, and the last chapter is yet unwritten. History has never posted up her accounts from the Montenegrin day-book.

This extraordinary people must be studied upon their own soil. For the interaction of geography and human nature never had a more brilliant demonstration.

Before the war, the rare traveler who was adventurous enough to leave popular tourist runways approached the Balkans by the Adriatic. The green beauty of the Dalmatian coast only serves to darken the mass of rock that rises like no other mountain height in the world. These hills are not brothers to the misty, dream-like Fujiyama or the snowy shining Alps. They are deeply carven and harshly modeled into strange

shapes. The violent winds that rage through their gullies drop few seeds and those that fall rarely germinate.

"Only a brave race could live there" one says to himself, and he is right.

At Cattaro, the port of this region, the water fills a group of narrow indentations like the spaces between a man's fingers. The old man of the mountain seems to be washing a mighty hand in the Adriatic. This is the famous Bocche di Cattaro. In the old days it was Austrian territory, an hour's drive from the Montenegrin border.

On the north and west rise the hills of Herzegovina. Mount Lovtchen makes an almost sheer wall over a mile high. The road, a superb piece of engineering, is a kind of Jacob's ladder from earth to heaven.

The only village between the Austrian border and Cettinje is Niegotch, where King Nicolas was born. It was the birthplace also of Danilo I, founder of the Petrovitch dynasty. Montenegro's rulers were cradled in these rocks. On the height above is buried Peter II, lawgiver of earlier centuries.

Another hour's drive brings one to Cettinje—as for those incredible mountaineers, it would not be safe to say what time one of them might make on foot. The story goes that King Nico-

las wanting to send a despatch to Cattaro, gave it to Michael, a famous mountain climber. As his Majesty came from dinner, he saw the messenger sitting in the corridor.

"Why don't you start for Cattaro?" he asked.

"Gospodor, I have just come back!" was the proud answer.

"Michael the Telegram!" exclaimed the witty monarch. And Michael the Telegram he was called for the rest of his life.

It is like reading the stories of the Old Testament to follow the lore of this land. Her princes lived with their people, fought with them and heard their pleas for justice, like Saul and David and Solomon of old.

Montenegro is the Switzerland of the Balkans. And the character of her people matches her mountains. What they have accomplished is a miracle and it is conceivable at all only in the perfect union of man with nature. Those mountaineers grow like trees rooted in the crevices of the rocks, rejoicing wrestlers with the wind, tempest-proof. On an earlier page Viscount Gladstone's testimony was quoted. His famous father, William E. Gladstone, declared, many years ago:

"The gallant feats of Montenegro surpass those of the heroes of Thermopylae and Marathon."

An old Montenegrin told a visitor that he had

once traveled, as far away as "the lands that have no rocks."

"How people can live there," he added, "I do not understand."

Yet with all their superlative vigor, they are not of a troublesome type. Murder, robbery or crimes of any sort are rare. They marry young, rear large families and care for them faithfully. With all its frightful losses, the population fairly held its own up to the World War.

There was no standing army in the earlier days. Every man was a soldier and owned his weapons. When danger arose, the trumpet-voiced heroes shouted the summons from mountain to mountain and in twenty-four hours the nation was ready for battle. Boys who were kept at home because they were too young have been known to leap from their windows and run away to war.

The women are as warlike as the men. They have often taken part in battle. They hear of their sons' death in war with dry eyes.

In 1076 a sovereign state existed there, not unlike the early Roman Republic in character. It acquired a national council, which chose a regent by vote.

The "strong man" has usually been present in these mountain states, but they have given evidence of an independent spirit through all their

Map published in the LONDON GRAPHIC *April* 1920, *showing the Balkans in the Seventeenth Century, the only country unconquered by the Turk being Montenegro.*

history. They were proud of their great leaders, Stephen Dushan (1337-1356) and the Tsar Lazar, under whom the peoples of that region made their united stand against the Turks at Kossova in 1389. Their defeat marked the end of an era. But Montenegro survived. The present Serb apologists make far too much of the early Serbian kingdom, which lasted only three centuries as against more than five in which Montenegro has maintained her independence, much of the time being the only Balkan nation to do so.

The Montenegrins cherish quite as warmly as the Serbians the glories of their common period before the battle of Kossova. The Tsar Lazar is celebrated in their folk-songs, exactly as you will find Kentucky mountaineers singing old English ballads, handed down from colonists of the Seventeenth Century. But it does not follow that America must be reunited to England or Montenegro to Serbia!

After the battle the heroic remnant withdrew toward Tsernagora, the Black Mountain, now Montenegro. And under pressure of the harassing Turk they steadily climbed, through the course of a century, to more secure heights. The desperate struggle up the hill welded all their forces and made of them a true nation.

In 1484, a final stand was made on the site of

Cettinje, the modern capital. At one time or another, this little stronghold has been captured, and burned and blown to bits. But the soul of Montenegro immortally defies every assault from above or below.

A landmark of civilization is the Metropolitan Monastery of Cettinje. On that site, half a thousand years ago, was set up the first Slavonic printing press, and the first State press owned by any government in the world.

It was more than a century before Columbus discovered America when the long contest with the Turk began. Montenegro overlooks the gate through which the East tried to enter Europe. On the map it looks like a mere pin head. But the point of that pin became an unendurable irritation in Turkey's side and helped to save Europe from entire domination by the Orient.

The odds were a thousand to one in the Turk's favor—so far as numbers go. Through all that region, he appeared to be the predestined conqueror. His hand closed upon the north; to the south, Africa was drowned in the flood of his legions. Montenegro remained like a new Mount Ararat upon which the ark rested after the deluge.

It is the Montenegrins' boast that in all the years of their warfare their enemies have taken no prisoners. They fight to the last and when

they find themselves in danger of capture die by their own hands. The fact remains to substantiate their claim that when there was a general release of prisoners at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, the Montenegrins gave up 10,000 Turks but the Turks had not a man of theirs to return the compliment.

Napoleon cast his eye on that strategic territory and sent General Marmont to annex it. The Turks perceived their chance, and while the French attacked on one side, they returned to the charge on the other. But even that union of powers failed to win. General Marmont sent word to his chief that the country was too small for a great force to enter. Napoleon was not impressed by the excuse, but he permitted his forces to withdraw.

This long strife lasted intermittently till 1913. There were many generations of which few men of fighting age died in their beds. It came to be considered a questionable honor, under the circumstances, to escape a violent end.

VIII.

Conclusion

Where the Turk and Napoleon failed, the Serb cannot hope to win. The apparent success of Belgrade schemes was possible only because of a complete overturn of world affairs.

A new state like Jugoslavia must have strong elements of cohesion to hold together through its formative years. Already there are signs of trouble. Croatia is evidently seeking a way out of the group. The later efforts of Serbia to float loans have met unexpected difficulties. A fierce guerilla war in the Black Mountain goes on and will continue until the usurpers withdraw.

Montenegro cannot be conquered. She will go on fighting till she fights her way back, though it take a century!

There is a latent consciousness in other nations of their responsibility for permitting Montenegro to be wronged by an Ally. They know that she entered the war before Belgium and that if they had given King Nicolas the same support they

gave King Albert, Montenegro would now be enjoying a well-deserved independence.

The slow inevitable reaction against the false propaganda of Serbia is setting in. Her success depended upon the complete subsidence of Balkan trouble and upon the selfish feeling on the part of other nations that their own comfort could be secured by letting sleeping dogs lie. There will, however, be little rest for the peacefully inclined nations till the maladjustments are corrected.

In March, 1917, I said, in an address on "The Question of Alsace and Lorraine":

"Let us remember that the future peace of the world, of America itself, will not be assured if the war ends otherwise than by the return to their cradles of all peoples who have been robbed from their mother countries, and the integral restitution of all the thefts committed by Germany and Austria in the last century, of Poland, of Schleswig-Holstein, of Triest, of Alsace, of Lorraine of Herzegovina and of Bosnia."

It was in the following year that Serbia placed an arbitrary hand upon Montenegro. Time will correct that injustice as the older historic wrongs are already righted or in process of being set right. But why run the risk of another war,